

the bullet

mary washington college

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ERA faces stiff Senate opposition

by Robin Darling

The Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, long stalled in a Senate committee, was reported out unamended last week and will soon be introduced onto the Senate floor for debate and voting.

The most important paragraph of the proposed amendment, which has the widespread support of women's legal and political groups, states that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

Sponsored by Senators Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) and Marlow Cook (R-Ky.), the bill received only one "no" vote in the Judiciary Committee. That came from Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), leader of a group of senators who oppose the bill and favor preferential treatment for women under certain conditions. If it is ratified, Ervin fears, women will lack any protection against unfavorable working conditions, as well as child custody and alimony.

The North Carolina senator had tacked on an amendment which, some claimed, would have "gutted" the amendment. Ervin's proposal stated: "Neither the United States nor any State shall make any legal distinctions between the rights and responsibilities of male and female persons unless such distinctions are based on physiological or functional differences." The modification was originally approved by the constitutional rights subcommittee, many of whose members agree with Ervin. These include, on that subcommittee alone, several powerful senators: Burckick (D-N.D.), Hruska (R-Neb.), Thurmond (R-S.C.), Fong (R-Hawaii), and Eastland (D-Miss.).

Ervin, who has not given up the fight against the bill, is expected to propose more amendments when debate begins in about three weeks. His was not the only amendment to be defeated in committee, however. A clause exempting women from the draft, for which they would be eligible under the present language of the bill, was struck down along with one allowing states to maintain one-sex colleges.

Birch Bayh, in a press conference after the committee's vote, stated that the alterations, although "well-intentioned," would have rendered the bill powerless. Claiming to allow state and federal governments to admit "reasonable" distinctions between the sexes, they would have assured the legality of many "protective" laws already existing.

Concurring with the opinions of most women's rights groups, Bayh said that these laws, instead of protecting working women, have the effect of limiting job opportunities and freedom of employment. In addition, he said, many other statutes limit women in the handling of property, and allow discriminatory treatment in federal and state employment.

One such law was struck down earlier this year by the U.S. Supreme Court. In the case of *Rev. Reed*, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote for a unanimous court in holding discriminatory an Idaho law which gave automatic preference to males when adminis-

trators of estates had to be appointed by the Probate Courts. Based on the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbids states to "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; . . . (or to) deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws," the ruling followed the Court's application of the traditional equal protection test to the statute. The Fourteenth Amendment itself, passed in 1868, was originally intended as a protection of voting rights, and was interpreted only after the turn of the century to require for the first time that state as well as federal statutes conform with the protections

guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. As such, it can be used to ask if the classification created by a statute is "reasonable" and if, in the case of the Idaho probate statute, there was a rational basis and state interest for favoring men over women as administrators of estates.

Idaho had claimed that the statute eliminated the workload of the Probate Courts by reducing the numbers of hearings on the subject. The Supreme Court, unconvinced, held that that objective was inconsistent with the Equal Protection clause, and Burger wrote that "By providing dissimilar treatment for men and women who are thus similarly situated," the statute violated the constitution.

Although the decision coincided with certain of the objectives of women's rights advocates, the clause itself cannot be seen as supplying a basis for eliminating sex discrimination in state laws. Since women had no vote in 1868, it was not instituted for the purpose of ensuring non-sexist employment or property laws. It has been applied only among the members of a certain class, which can still be defined arbitrarily by state law.

Other federal laws, however, have been used to nullify discriminatory state statutes. Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was the basis for another important ruling dealing with sex discrimination in employment practices. In *United Air Lines v. Sprogis*, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals found the airline's policy of requiring stewardesses to be female and unmarried to be in violation of Title VII, which forbids discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, national origin, or sex. The Supreme Court's refusal to review the lower court's decision indicated that it considered the ruling sound; in addition, the case may be the basis for deciding other cases as well as the grounds for requiring a policy change on the part of United and other U.S. airlines.

However, Title VII empowers the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce the law in respect to race, but only to advise on cases of discrimination in respect to sex. Women's legal groups, in supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, claim that the only machinery for enforcement of Title VII, which is the court system, is slow and inconsistent, and say the proposed amendment would assure a much broader and complete reform of state and federal statutes.

According to the Labor Department's Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, the amendment would not nullify all laws distinguishing on the basis of sex, but would require that the law treat both sexes equally, either by extending to both a law which applies only to one, or by declaring unconstitutional a law which denies equality of rights to one sex. In either case, it predicts that the amendment would affect the following areas:

—Present alimony, child support, and custody laws will not be invalidated. However, in states where alimony is presently limited to women, men will become eligible under the same circumstances as women. The criterion for child custody will remain the same: welfare of the child, with no provisions giving mothers or fathers preference.

—Restrictions on married women's property rights will become invalid, and dower laws will be extended to men in states where they have no right in their wives' estates.

—In the case of "protective" labor laws which apply to women, minimum wage laws and rest period and lunch period laws will be extended to men. Laws which prohibit hours of work above a specified

number, night work, employment in particular occupations, and weightlifting laws will be removed from the books. Special maternity benefits, however will still be allowed where they are in effect; in most states, laws prohibit employment of women during certain periods before and after childbirth, and do not require that they be rehired or reimbursed for working time lost.

—The proposed amendment will not affect private employment, but will prohibit discrimination by federal, state county, and city governments as employers. This group of employees includes teach-

ers, professors, and other employees of public schools and state colleges and universities. Under the provisions of the amendment, they will be guaranteed equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex. In addition, it will prohibit single-sex public schools and higher admissions standards for one sex.

—Social Security benefits will be extended to widowers of covered women workers in the same way as benefits which are now provided only to widows of covered men workers.

—Women will be required to serve jury duty and military duty under the same conditions as men; they will be excused for the same reasons.

—Laws which prescribe longer prison sentences for one sex for the same offense will be invalidated, as well as laws which specify different ages for treatment as adults. Rape laws will not be changed.

While most of the presidential candidates openly support the Equal Rights Amendment, its sponsors in the Senate are wary of the actions of its opponents there. Bayh stated in his press conference that he was afraid the amendment would be filibustered, or that a rider, such as an antibusing amendment, would be attached to it to ensure its defeat.

The House has already passed the amendment in last year's 354-23 vote. If the amendment passes the Senate by a two-thirds vote, it must be ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures within seven years. States would then be allowed a two-year grace period in which to rewrite statutes which conflict with the amendment.

Harris proposes student representation

Sen. Fred Harris just announced that he will offer this week an amendment to the Higher Education Act, requiring all colleges receiving federal assistance (directly or through contact) to place at least 1 student with full voting power on the school's Board of Trustees.

Many colleges (including Boston College, Vanderbilt, and Princeton Univ.), both public and private, already have students present in Washington on the Harris Amendment and can extend this to virtually every campus in the country.

Socialist party

The Socialist Workers Party of Virginia recently announced a petition drive to add the names of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley to the Virginia ballot in the November presidential election.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President of the United States, announced the petition drive last week at the office of the student newspaper of Hampton Institute; the Hampton SCRIPT.

In describing the campaign, he said, "The Socialist Workers 1972 campaign will be the largest socialist campaign in the party's history, and the largest socialist campaign since Eugene V. Debs ran on the Socialist Party ticket before World War I."

"For the first time since Debs," he continued, "the people of Virginia will have a chance to vote for a socialist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties."

Pulley stated that this campaign will be used to bring ideas and demands of the woman's liberation movement, the anti-war movement, the black struggle, and other movements for social change to the people of Virginia. The immediate aspect of this campaign, as explained by Pulley, will be to organize in Virginia to build the April 22 "Out Now!" anti-war demonstrations in New York.

Campaign supporters plan to collect 16,000 signatures on the nominating petitions, double the necessary number.

NEWS

Freshmen hall presidents and junior counselors for 1972-73 will be:

Marshall-Diane Bottenus, president, junior counselors—Valerie Gregg, Isabel Hurley, Jan Kanter, Jane Klein, Donna Lunsford, Gwynne McIntyre.

Virginia-Cindy Kear, president, junior counselor—Gael Darling, Vicky Davis, Diane Doering, Ellen Flemer, Alice Harding, Janelle Hicks, Jan Karker, Sandy Quarles.

Willard-Pat Egan, president, junior counselors—Carol Bellome, Norma Jordan, Ellen Meador, Dana Pugh, Jackie Rasca, Marian Sayre, Karen Sollijar, Sherry Synder, Rasie Yates.

Upperclass dorm counselors—Nancy Blake, Patsy Young, Bobbie Burton, Amy Harrier, Penny Hughes, Nancy Manning, Diane Smith.

There will be a general student recital this evening in Dupont Hall Theatre at 6:45 p.m.

The MWC Concert Series will present the Canadian Opera Company tonight, 8:00 p.m. in GW auditorium.

There will be a Senate meeting Tuesday, March 7, at 6:30 p.m., in ACL ballroom.

MWC Student Information Services will hold an open rap session in order to discuss student health service needs, Tuesday, March 7, at 7:30 p.m., in Chandler, room 25.

Tryouts for the Drama Department's production of "Don Juan" will be held Wednesday, March 8, at 7:00 p.m., in Goolrick, room 4. The tryouts will be open to all students.

Sherman Lee, of the Cleveland Museum of Art, will lecture on "The Radical Change in the History of Chinese Painting," Wednesday, March 8, at 11:15 a.m., in the Klein Memorial Theatre. This lecture will be sponsored by the MWC Department of Art.

All seniors are invited to a meeting of the American Association of University Women, Wednesday, March 8, at 8:00 p.m., in ACL ballroom.

The Federal Service Entrance Exam will be held Saturday, March 18, in Combs, room 100.

The Northern Virginia Youth Symphony will present a program Saturday, March 18, at 2:00 p.m., in G.W. auditorium.

The Senate will meet Tuesday, March 21, at 6:30 p.m., in ACL ballroom.

NSL is strongly urging the Senate to adopt the amendment, and although the vote is expected to come quickly sometime this week, students—many many of whom have worked hard on their campuses for student trustees—should let their Senators know how they feel.

News item from 1970: 2 years ago local student groups around the country asked graduating seniors to forego caps and gowns at June commencement exercises, and instead donate the rental money (about \$70,000 from over 30 schools) to 12 peace candidates for Congress.

Three peace candidates were elected (Jim Abourezk of South Dakota, Ron Dellums of California, Parris Mitchell of Maryland), and others were narrowly defeated.

The Peace Commencement Fund for 1972 is beginning to surface at Georgetown Univ. in Washington D.C. and other campuses as students look for effective ways to turn the country away from the war and back toward the many domestic priorities. In 1972 students will also be asking commencement speakers to donate their monetary "honorariums" to the fund, along with students' cap and gown money.

Activity is beginning on individual campuses around the country, and organized national activity is expected to begin in March.

The National Endowment of the Humanities announced it has up to \$1,000,000 available for youth initiated and conducted humanities projects (up to \$10,000 per grant). Proposals for grants must be submitted before the March 17 deadline.

Humanities includes, but is not limited to, language, literature, history, jurisprudence, philosophy, archeology, and the history, criticism and practice of the arts. Proposals can be wide-ranging. For example, a group surveying remaining elements of folk tradition, a black studies program, and the investigation of a particular historical event with a particular youth orientation, such as the student peace movement.

The grants are open to "young people" (under 30) whose proposals will be evaluated by a panel of other young people. Both school-related and non-school related projects will be considered. "Social action" projects are not in the realm of humanities.

The NSL encourages local projects (whether ongoing or only in the thinking stage) which fit the broad humanities categories. If you have a project in mind, begin to draft a short proposal immediately, and at the same time write us (contact Peter Coye), or else write the N.E.H. at 806 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. for further information before the March 17 deadline.

The National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse has unanimously decided to recommend that all criminal penalties for the private use of marijuana be eliminated. The recommendations of the conservatively-oriented 13-member commission, which includes 9 members appointed by Pres. Nixon, could generate a dramatic shift in the public attitudes toward the legal status of the drug.

The Report does not recommend full legalization, but keeping penalties for sale, growing, transferring, or smoking in public.

Election results

FONTAINE	563	ANDERSON	686
COBB	345	WELSH	599
		KEAR	516
ALEXANDER	736	O'CONNELL	589
		MAHON	682
BARNES	778		
MCVEIGH	473	BAUGHAN	343
HEDRICK	300	JOHNSON	329
HOPKINS	490		
THOMPSON	241	STRUNTZ	676
WADE	402		
FLAHERTY	385		
NIXON	711		
DARLING	705	Total Voting	911
CORNER	716		
HUDSON	708	Results of Constitution	change
KINNE	698	FOR	650
REESE	654	OPPOSED	9
MANDELKER	681	ABSENTIONS	6
SCHWARTZ	509		

Rabe comments on demise of SA office

Jeanne Rabe, National Affairs Chairman, released the following statement from her office:

As the last National Affairs Chairman I feel compelled at this time to offer some sentiments and hope that you will pause with me to reflect upon them.

Although my official office will possibly never exist again, I feel that perhaps I can speak for Susie Taylor and Mimi Hearne, my few predecessors, as well as for myself in several regards.

The end is not here. Strike may be over. Moratorium marches may be done with. And for the most part, the heyday of the mass student movement is past. We are in new times, though . . . times which will not tolerate rude insurrection as a correction. Therefore student involvement in political issues on all levels has entered a new realm, the realm of active participation in existing institutions: correction can only come from within, not from without.

The focus of student government this year has not been on national issues, but rather on internal issues. This does not mean all the causes are dead, however—we still have many rights to protect, if we have them, or to work for, if we don't. We still have a multiplicity of interests as involved citizens in a functioning community.

To be more specific, I feel that students, especially women and minority students, still have a long way to go before they can attain certain undeniable rights in society. I feel that, as members of a community in a city, in a state, in a nation we must persevere in our efforts to bring change into the system—be it through agencies such as women's groups, National Student Lobby, Virginia Student Union or whatever. If we turn inward on ourselves, then we are turning our cheek to the "injustices."

Therefore I encourage all of you, as individuals and leaders, to think in these terms and to work towards community, real community.

Student regrets pettiness of elections

To the Editor:

I have just finished voting in the S.A. elections and tonight at 8:30 the campaigns will be over and hopefully, the work towards a better college community will begin. But I feel that something must be said about this election. I can't stand it any longer.

I got involved in this election because I thought that I should do my part to help to reach towards the necessities that this college needs and that electing the right people was the best way to do it. I campaigned for my candidates as well as I could and for awhile enjoyed the campaigning, the poster making and the parties. Then something took place in the midst of all this fun and real concern that turned my stomach.

Why can't we leave our high school attitudes back in high school? Why did we turn on each other and make awkward situations out of usually friendly discussions? Why did we have to hurt these people who are all very much concerned about MWC and the welfare of its students?

If once you said no one really cared be-

cause they didn't run for an office or vote in the elections, I can see why. Who would want to get mixed up in all that dirt? These offices are so important and their potential is so great. But this importance and potential was lost in the tons of crap that was shoved around.

I am not saying that it was the majority of people or that it was one sided. I believe that it was just a few from all sides that spoiled it. But then it doesn't take much mold to spoil a loaf of bread. I feel we should sit back and search our consciences and if we feel we are guilty, vow to remedy it next year and work for a better election.

But my "Monday-Morning-Quarterbacking" doesn't really help. The words have been said and the feelings have been hurt. If we are really as concerned about this college as we have pledged in the last 11 days, let's pull the pieces together and support our Student Association officers next year whoever they are. If you can't be adult enough to do this, then you really didn't care and we can all stew in the hell we will have created for ourselves.

Elsie McGarvey

Black woman's needs

by Afro-American Club

I am not just another woman, I am the **Black woman**. I am not just another student here at Mary Washington College, I am the **Black student**. I possess special needs, as well as special abilities.

It is a necessity that I be referred to as being Black, because the words **Negro** and **coloured** are degrading to my dignity. These words are offensive. It must be realized that black is not merely a color, but a way of thinking.

It is also a necessity that I be **equally** considered when social activities are planned at this college. At least one-third of the social activities should be Black oriented, for example, concerts with soulful all-Black bands, movies starring all-Black casts, etc.

I need to be made to feel welcomed here at Mary Washington College. When I go to the cafeteria, I am tired of being harassed by the hostesses asking me if I attended this

college because they have some type of mental block about Blacks working here, but not being able to go here for the sole purpose of getting an education. I am tired of Black males not being welcomed on this campus when there is some type of social activity. The Black woman is not meant to survive without her Black man. We, as Black women students on this campus, find it an absolute necessity to have Black males welcomed here.

Finally, after being here at Mary Washington, especially after considering this environment, I have discovered that perhaps the most important of all the Black student's needs, is her privacy. There are times when she just wants to be by herself. But, there are even more special times when she just wants to be in a private room with her other Black friends, where she can be intimate with her thoughts and aspirations, where she can just "hang loose and find satisfaction."

The purpose of this article is not by any means to be offensive, but rather, to make the ignorant aware.



"That's impossible! This is a girls' school."

FORUM

for struggle's sake

We are never going to receive the services we need on this campus. We can fight and organize and demand and protest and work through the proper channels or work outside of the proper

channels, but too many times everything will be deliberately bogged down in committees and in meetings, until the organizers graduate and new students, idealistic because they are inexperienced, take up the challenge, to complete the vicious circle.

So we can fight for the pure enjoyment of fighting. Or we can apply our efforts in a more productive and possibly fruitful situation. An opportunity for this is the establishment of a community free clinic.

Next week interested students, area clergy, local doctors, and concerned people of the Fredericksburg community will meet to discuss the needs of local, free health services, and pool their talents and resources in order to meet those needs. These people are already convinced of the need of a health service and are already pledged to work toward such an establishment. There will be no frustrating, never-ending committee meetings to convince people of the necessity of these services. Instead there will be a lot of dedicated work.

The need for student involvement in this effort is two-fold. First of all, we will benefit, therefore we should be prepared to work toward this benefit. Secondly, a free clinic calls for the involvement of many people with different capabilities. Obviously, it will need physicians, nurses, etc. But there is also the need for compassionate volunteers who are willing to give the time to talk to people.

So many times, the professional staff of free clinics become hardened by the overwhelming numbers of people and problems they encounter. It is almost impossible to criticize this, because these clinics are sparsely staffed and usually handling more than their capacity.

The people who run these clinics see so many pregnancies, so many abortions, so many cases of venereal disease, so many drug problems, etc., that they often tend to forget that each problem represents an individual who is frightened and unable to deal with the situation alone. This can be alleviated however, by student volunteers who are trained and have the time to talk individually with people and help them with solutions to their personal situations.

Like the day-care center, organized last semester, this is an opportunity to make productive use of our energy, our concern, and our resources, in order to benefit ourselves and others.

One aspect of struggling, is to know where to direct that struggle. We are accomplishing nothing in the area of health services when we direct our efforts to this campus. We will not be giving up, we will just be showing the people who block us here, that we can organize ourselves with other interested people in order to accomplish our goals. We will show them that we have the ability, not only to talk, but to actually build what we need... with or without their efforts.

L. C.

the bullet

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The woman's small group: end to distrust, loneliness

by Linda Cayton

Some women on this campus gave a meeting and ten people came. Organizers of the meeting were so concerned about not alienating any women on this campus, that they didn't even title it. To some who came, it was a woman's lib meeting; to others, a consciousness-raising group. Most importantly, it offered a chance to talk about themselves.

Enthusiasm and shyness in most of the people, seemed to struggle back and forth. Everyone was eager to deal with their particular concern, but not to dominate or direct the rest of the group. Most of all, everyone was very intent on showing that they cared about what the others felt. If there was any strain at all, it was within each individual as they attempted to remain flexible; rejecting rhetoric and dogma in order to communicate on a personal basis.

Those of us who had been here awhile, were very glad to see such a group finally gaining interest at MWC. The same thing had been attempted a few years ago and it was a dismal, depressing, and frustrating failure. Half of the group expressed interest in the politics of sexual discrimination while

the other half's political interests, as far as women were concerned, went as far as free and easy access to birth control and an occasional abortion. The only community of women this group fostered proved to be of mutual dislike. Such an experience pointed out what is perhaps the most difficult problem women face—being committed to and accepted by other women.

It seems strange at a woman's college, that women are so defensive toward each other. It would seem, on the contrary, that a community of women would provide an excellent opportunity for the growth of women's mutual respect. Sometimes it seems that if there is a group feeling here, it's one of distrust; the kind of distrust which is born of the competition that we all have learned as we strive to gain that one thing that will make us complete women—a man.

Small women's groups, like the one started here last week, can do much to overcome this mutual dislike and aid in personal growth. It can prove to others that a "woman's lib" group is not a collection of hardened, bitter, man-hating, radicals, who spend all their time burning bras, sleeping with each

other, and attempting to castrate men (psychologically, if not physically). Indeed, even members of the group have to constantly struggle to keep themselves open to the feelings of others and not be caught up in the same rigid power structure which they seek to destroy.

Such open-mindedness was what made the first meeting of this campus women's group so exciting. Although it all seemed slightly disorganized at first, it was this same disorganized enthusiasm that led finally to a direction. Ideas flew from the personal to the political and back, until everyone came to the conclusion that we could go nowhere until we overcame our natural shyness about discussing ourselves; our childhood, our parents, our relationships with men, and with each other.

This method in itself, has been termed "revolutionary." Ronnie Lichtman, a member of a similar small woman's group, has written that such a method represents, "a way of breaking down one of the strongest bulwarks of our society—the belief that an individual's perceptions of herself cannot be understood by anyone else; that individual problems must, therefore, be dealt with in isolation and loneliness.

In a sense, that is perhaps the main goal of the small women's group—an end to isolation and loneliness, and an end to dislike of other women simply because they are women and as such, represent some sort of threat.

Liberation is a constant struggle. For a woman, liberation must involve an end to loneliness and distrust of other women. To provide support in this effort, we have organized the small woman's group. As Lichtman explains, it is the "strength of our movement, through which women reach out to each other, grope together, grow together. It is our best means of raising consciousness, our most effective organizing tool, and, at the same time, our most human structure."

This is what we are trying to do every Thursday night at 7:30 p.m., in Chandler—as well as all during our life.

movie review

'The Last Picture Show'

(CPS) copyright by Larry McMurtry

In the summer of 1965, just as I was beginning to enjoy the bloom of youth, I suddenly found myself having trouble with a novel. Quel malheur! I mumbled to God. Can't I even write? I was by then accustomed to having trouble with women, and I had even had a certain amount with parents, children and animals, but at least art had always been friendly. If I wasn't even going to be able to do novels it might mean that I would have to re-examine the philosophic bases of my life, and I didn't want to.

While I was moping around, waiting for my novel to assume the brilliant textures I had wanted for it, I was abruptly interrupted by a family crisis. This crisis forced me to return to my home town for three days. Even in those days my home town was a place I seldom went; I observed it over the uproar of the crisis (which passed without loss of life) and came away feeling that in a sense the town itself had been the crisis. I am not sure that I know what the civilized life is, but I am sure that I regard the violation of personal privacy can be had only at the cost of considerable eccentricity—I was initially drawn to reading because I sensed in it, for the first time, the possibility of a private thing. In such places as my home town (Archer City, Texas) it is a collective boredom that overwhelms privacy: the communities, hunger for drama is too intense. Lip service is given to minding one's own business, but in fact people in small towns often can't afford to mind their own business, because for years at a stretch it is apt to be other people's business that convinces them that life is still being lived—not by them, but at least by people they know. Peyton Place's one distinction is that it captures perfectly the way in which private crises are made into the drama that small communities need.

In the space of a three-day visit I was vividly reminded of all the things I didn't like about the town in which I grew up. I returned to my typewriter, put aside the long novel that had been frustrating me, and wrote, in the space of about six weeks, a book called *The Last Picture Show* using as a starting point a couple of Winesburgian short stories which I had done (imperfectly) years before. By the time the book was published (1966) I was aware that it was too bitter—Archer City had not been cruel to me, only honestly indifferent, and my handling of many of the characters in the book represented a failure of generosity for which I could blame no one but myself. Neither the world nor myself lost any sleep over this—the book passed quietly into a remainder house, its passage mourned only by my agents, who had hoped that it would be destined for bigger things.

Now these bigger things have been achieved, and it is the process of their achievement that I want to

write about. I hold peculiar views on criticism. It is, I believe, an entertainment, valued only by those who are inclined to be entertained by it. Being always post facto it is of no use at all to artists. Nothing I or anyone else can say about this film can help Mr. Bogdanovich make his next film greater art. Artists go from project to project, perfecting their skills and hoping that they deepen as people as they do so, so that some day the interstices of their craft and the interstices of their character may mesh for a time, producing an art work that is full, rich, compelling—but not perfect.

Fortunately artists must learn by doing, not by being told what they have done. Critics can hurt them, but they usually hurt them with praise, rather than with blame. Blame may be a goad; praise's function on the other hand, may be to relieve the tension in which most artists exist—a tension between self-confidence and self-doubt. Take away the self-doubt, which the greatest artists have had—often at their greatest moments—and you are left, usually with a pompous art, one which finally bores you by repeating its own early virtues time and again.

If all this seems an odd approach to make to reviewing a movie, let me say that it is distinctly an odd thing, to be reviewing a movie made from one's book, and one's script, shot in one's home town, about one's own experience—and moreover, directed by one's friend. When Mr. Bogdanovich asked me to work with him on the film (this is in the spring of 1970) "*The Last Picture Show*" had been, where I was concerned, dead and buried for three years and more. I was glad to try and help him breathe life into its corpse, but I doubted the material so much that I didn't have very high hopes. I sensed, at once, his feel for the period, but I was a long time understanding the quality in him which ultimately made the film the triumph that it is: that is, his elegiac sense. He is moved, as I am, by the ending of things, by the waning of periods, generations, human couples, a town. I might have deduced this from his feeling for Ford and Hawks, the most elegiac of our directors, but such is the piecemeal nature of film work that I didn't sense it fully until I saw the finished picture.

The novel was a mixture of modes and motives. A certain amount of affection struggled in it, and a certain amount of genuine hatred. Affection lost, and the predominant tone of the novel is rather harshly satiric. Mr. Bogdanovich, coming to the material without the corruption of having lived it, was gentler to everyone than I had been; the film is extraordinary in this day and time for the sheer feeling which it releases. Its success in the highly urban areas where it is being shown convinces me more than ever that we live in a zombie-state these days; people respond to "*The Last Picture Show*" because it reminds them of how it was in the days when they felt.



CPS

Spock: candidate of the People's Party

This article is the second in a series concerning announced candidates for the Presidential election of 1972.

—Ed.

Denver (CPS)—Dr. Benjamin M. Spock, Presidential candidate for the newly-formed People's Party was in Denver last month as part of his whirlwind campaign tour of the southwest.

The well-known author and long time anti-war activist admitted that he once voted for Calvin Coolidge back in 1924 because his father, seeing that

his son was about to vote for the first time, told him to vote a straight Republican ticket.

Now, Dr. Spock is the Presidential candidate of the People's Party, a coalition of left-wing groups which hopes to launch a serious and lasting third-party movement in this country.

He began the day with an early morning surprise visit to Hip Help, a Denver medical and counseling clinic where he spoke with its sleepy-eyed director about the lack of medical facilities for the poor and indigent.

The rest of the day was spent explaining to various groups what he thinks the Peoples Party stands for as well as how he was radicalized from a Johnson supporter in '64 to an anti-imperialist and an advocate of local control of schools, factories, neighborhoods, and police.

The People's Party was launched in Dallas last Thanksgiving by members of the New Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, and other groups that ran third-party candidates in 1968. Economist Julius Hobson was nominated as Spock's running mate and several other prominent figures such as Gore Vidal, and Sidney Lens were put forth as members of the party's "shadow cabinet," which includes a "secretary-male" and a "secretary-female" for each post.

Both parties, complains the 68-year-old pediatrician, helped lead this country into the Vietnam War, yet neither can or will lead us out of it. Likewise, he said, Nixon's economic policy seems "more restrictive of wages than prices and profits," yet "that policy was not conceived by Richard Nixon. It was conceived by the Democrats in Congress."

"We believe the two parties are essentially the same," Spock said. "They're never going to solve such problems as pollution, because pollution is caused by industry—and it's industry that pays the electric bills for the Democrats as well as the Republicans."

The People's Party platform, a formidable 24-page treatise, calls for US troops to be pulled out of all foreign bases, demands a \$6,500 guaranteed annual income for all Americans, requires an end to laws which discriminate against women or homosexuals, calls for an end to laws which prohibit what Spock calls "things which have no victims—like smoking marijuana."

Spock said the weed is "clearly much less harmful than tobacco or alcohol," yet laws banning its use are "used to prosecute long-hairs and radicals."

While Dr. Spock was elected only as an "interim" candidate, he expects to stay on the ballot when the party holds its convention in Miami next July immediately following the Democratic Party convention.

Squashing rumors that Rep. Shirley Chisholm would receive the People's Party nomination, Dr. Spock noted that she would have to give up her congressional seat and her seniority to do so.

The notation of Ralph Nader as candidate was similarly disposed of when Spock said that he (Nader) was "absolutely, totally, and somewhat irritably" opposed to any efforts to "involve him in politics."

Dr. Spock also dismissed former Senator Eugene McCarthy as a possible People's Party candidate: "I doubt if the People's Party would accept him." McCarthy is "a law unto himself and not a consistent leader," he said.

Some contend that a voter is wasting his ballot if he casts it for the People's Party, but his party maintains the opposite, Spock said.

"If a person only votes for a lesser evil," said Dr. Spock, "he always votes for an evil. We give him an alternative."

Spock discusses future goals

(College Press Service conducted a two hour interview with Dr. Benjamin Spock during his recent campaign visit to Denver. Dr. Spock, world-renowned pediatrician, author of child care books (including *Baby and Child Care*, which outsold every other book ever written with the lone exception of the Bible), and long-time antiwar activist, is now running for the Presidency on the People's Party ticket. The People's Party, formed last fall, is a coalition of leftist political groups which believe that there is no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties.)

CPS: In 1967 you said "Since carrying signs has not halted the monstrous war in Vietnam, people are entirely justified in moving to civil disobedience." In 1969 at Columbia you echoed that by saying: "Since faculty and students have spent two years trying to get things done through legal channels, they now have the right to stage sit-ins." You felt that rifling the president's desk and smoking his cigars was somewhat...

SPOCK: Yes, dubious.

CPS: ... dubious and you have been quoted as saying you respect the Weathermen's courage, but not their tactics. What criteria do you use to draw the line in your philosophy? What is moral?

SPOCK: I was brought up a naturally law-abiding person. It was only reluctantly that I moved into another position. It seemed so clear to me that the war kept being escalated and the government refused to heed or even answer the protests of the protestors. The war got more and more illegal and immoral in the way it was being fought. What are you meant to do after polite protest? You have to dramatize the issue and get it to the people in order to win converts to your side and to apply pressure on the government. Obviously this is not justified morally if you're a criminal and are up to criminal pursuits. But if you believe that the government is criminal and that in a democratic country you've got to apply pressure, it seems to me the logic says you've got to keep on trying. The principle of democracy doesn't say try only at election time every four years and then subside for another four years. You've got to keep on applying pressure. Civil disobedience is very effective if it's designed right. I would always want to be fairly sure that even in a civil disobedience it would be carried out in a way that would enlist the sympathy of a majority of the people who heard about it, otherwise you're failing your cause and alienating people. You can't tell ahead of time how a demonstration is going to end up or in the long run what will alienate and what won't. When I heard of the Berrigan's first pouring duck's blood and later burning up draft records I thought, "oh no, you can't go in to government buildings and destroy government property."

In the law-abiding way that I grew up this seemed beyond the pale. I thought "It will alienate ten times as many people at least as it will win over." I think there I was entirely wrong. The very fact that these were Catholic priests who felt so strongly about the immorality of the war, that they felt driven to what would normally be considered a very illegal and criminal act, had a profound effect on Catholics and Protestants. But the very daringness of the civil disobedience was what attracted a lot of attention and got a lot of people thinking. Obviously I don't feel as I and other civil disobedient people have been accused of doing, that anybody has a right to choose what he will obey and what he won't. I feel justified in breaking a law in a symbolic civil disobedient form.

CPS: How do we get people to realize, with the winding down of the war, that we are still supporting corrupt regimes? How do we cultivate that feeling?

SPOCK: You mean how do we make the American people get more of a revulsion against the war? It's always an uphill battle to make fellow citizens aware of injustices which, in a democracy, they're partly responsible for. This has to be taken very realistically into account as we try to improve our society. People, by nature, even the most conscientious ones, try to keep blinders on themselves and avoid becoming aware of injustices. Many people have said there should be more books about the war in Vietnam so people will learn about what a vicious war it is. I have a whole bookshelf full of books about the war in Vietnam and I wrote one myself. The problem is not that there aren't enough books, it's that the people who weren't already opposed to the war didn't want to become opposed to the war. They sensed, especially in the early days, that they'd become part of this unpopular minority and they would feel uncomfortable so they kept their blinders on. It's the same reason why up to 1964 even the most conscientious white people made no protest against injustice to black people. ... obviously a very successful blinding of themselves. In other words, the reason we have injustice is not because most people are unjust or cruel, but because we have this protective mechanism of denying the injustices unless they're brought home to us. I think what we saw in the war in Vietnam was that we had to use various means to break through this denial. One of the things that would be done would be a vew handfuls of students going and sitting in, blocking the hallway in a university where the Dow Chemical recruiter was on campus. Then the university authorities, panicking, would call in the police. The police would come and club the students and then ten thousand other students who were trying to deny the whole injustice of Vietnam and napalm suddenly couldn't deny it any longer. It's a horrible thing to see people being beaten by the police, your own classmates having their skulls cracked, but it takes this to break through the denial. This is one of the points of demonstrations: It is, one might say, to

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What does a woman dream?

by Kathy Duley

When a young woman emerges from the ivory-tower atmosphere of a college community and enters the realms of wifehood and motherhood, what becomes of her blind idealism and naive optimism? Anne Richardson Roiphe approaches the question in a marvelous novel, *Up the Sandbox!* In a narrative that follows a young wife and mother's stream of consciousness, author Roiphe has written an expose on the pain and glories of womanhood.

Margaret Reynolds, mother of two pre-school children and wife of a college professor, relates her dreams, her fears, her hopes, her joys, her disillusionments, and her fantasies. She evaluates her relationship with her husband, ponders the future of her children, and contemplates the world she is living in and her reactions to it. Her hopes and dreams have not faded away. Through her adventurous fantasies she manages to keep them alive amid diapers and dirty dishes, as she imagines herself as she is not—and knows she never can be. Out of the madness of everyday life she views all around, she evolves a sanity. She realizes her limitations as well as the

possibilities her life presents. She does not seek escape from her responsibilities but only a satisfactory means of dealing with them.

As I read *Up the Sandbox!* I found a character who is alive. Alive in our present day world. Alive during a period when so many literary figures move about in a fog. Author Roiphe has created a living, loving, tangible woman. She is besieged by the normal problems facing a young woman of our time—those of finding her identity, of relating to other people, of wonder as to what kind of world her children will grow up in. Her character is not crystal clear nor perfectly defined—she is flexible and open-minded, but far from wishy-washy. I could comprehend Margaret's mental struggles and was amused by some of her random thoughts, as they reflected what I have often felt.

The traumas and apprehensions of leaving college to enter the "real" world often prove to be a source of tension as one faces the prospect. To be able to view one of the possibilities and realize that one must not abate all to be a wife and mother can be a refreshing experience. *Up the Sandbox!* provides such an experience.

Benjamin Spock: political activist political candidate

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tempt the authorities to show during the demonstration, the same kind of brutality that they're carrying out somewhere else that you're protesting against. This is what happened at Columbia, this is what happened at Harvard, where suddenly the whole university, including the faculty, came over to very vigorous support of the students of SDS's project of getting rid of Reserve Officer Training. That was the main issue with the students and they were making no progress with students or faculty until they occupied a building, were dragged out and beaten on the campus. The faculty had originally tabled the proposal of the SDS students that the faculty protest against ROTC. Suddenly the faculty of Arts and Sciences voted overwhelmingly that ROTC must go. A brilliant and glaring example of the success of a demonstration. The faculty suddenly recognized what the army was doing in Vietnam. They said yes, a university should not be teaching militarism as part of the curriculum. Antiwar demonstrations have to continue to go on and that's why guerrilla theatre is another more vivid way of bringing this home to people: the shrieks of the actors who are portraying Vietnamese who are still being bombed by America. Though people do evade and procrastinate in recognizing things, back in the beginning of the escalation of the war not more than 15 per cent of the American people thought it was wrong now 75 per cent of the American people think it is wrong. In spite of the hoodwinking by Presidents all along the way, trying to mislead them. When one followed the public opinion polls all through the Johnson escalation one saw that every time Johnson did anything and told the American people another untruth, the wave of support for him immediately went up. But over the 4 year period, it was down, down, down.

This is what I hope the American people will catch on to by next November. That though the troops are gone, the bombing is going on. We still have the war. Part of this must be continued demonstrations by people who are opposed. Otherwise the American people will be lulled into more evasion, which of course is what Nixon is trying to do with his withdrawal of the troops.

CPS: Some people have charged that the continuation of the war is connected with the virility problems of our Presidents.

SPOCK: I think one should not oversimplify outrageously. Obviously the causes and escalation of the war are many. One can sort out some of the more obvious layers. Eisenhower said in '65 the reason we're involved supporting the French is because we want to control the tin and tungsten and other valuable materials. This is at the industrial-imperialist level. He perhaps thought he was being rather superior and smart to give an answer that they couldn't see by themselves. Then at the military level since the Chinese Communist Revolution voices in the Pentagon have said "there is our next enemy." Some of them said "why don't we go in before declaring war and just bomb their beginning nuclear installations." Why wait until they have them. Nice example of arrogance . . . national arrogance. That is the main justification for our involvement in Vietnam from a military point of view. There's also the psychological point of view. No question about it, Johnson in several ways showed his great insecurity of values of virility and one of them was his statement just before he escalated the war in about January 1965. He said, presented with the evidence that the South Vietnamese government and the South Vietnamese army were on the point of collapse the only way that we could maintain our position was by taking over the fighting ourselves. He said "I refuse to be the first president to lose a war." It's interesting that several years later Nixon used exactly the same words. They don't ask the question, "is it a just war," they don't even ask the practical question "is this war achieving anything for the United States." It becomes immediately a personal matter: "Can I face myself and will the American people admire me if I admit we were all wrong and that we weren't able to lick this small backward nation." There are answers at all these levels. Lyndon Johnson said at one time the greatest thrill in his life is seeing the stars and stripes flying on foreign soil. He was always referring back to the glorious defenders of the Alamo. The defenders of the Alamo were people who were trying to rip off some more of Mexico's land right? They got caught in the act, were surrounded, and they were so stubborn that they preferred to die rather than give up.

CPS: Johnson resigned rather than lose the war.

SPOCK: That's right. Obviously from his point of view it's noble to try and acquire some more territory from Mexico and it's noble to prefer to die rather than admit you're wrong.

What we've got to do is bring up our children in such a way that they don't think of this kind of sentiment as patriotism. They must realize that in the world and in a nation that has nuclear arms this attitude is insanity.

CPS: Are we making any real progress or is everything we do futile?

SPOCK: I think everything done in opposition to the war, every letter written, every telegram sent, every person that went to any demonstration, anybody who ran as a peace candidate, anybody who voted for a peace candidate and everybody who wrote a letter to the editor pointing out the inequities and the insanity of the war in Vietnam—every one of those things did help. It's one of the most distressingly blind and overly pessimistic attitudes to say that nothing did any good. We forced Lyndon Johnson out of office, we and the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong—they played the largest role, of course. This is no mean feat. And in a way it was unusually bad political luck that we got instead a Richard Nixon. If Hubert Humphrey had any guts at all he would have refused to allow Johnson to make him run on the same Vietnam policy that forced Johnson out of office. That's the viciousness of Johnson. He decided he had to get out and that he had to let Hubert run, but he didn't want him to have any advantage in running so he says "Hubert you've got to run on exactly the same platform that destroyed me." That's extraordinary, but even more extraordinary is that Hubert Humphrey, no longer subordinate to Johnson, obeyed him. This is the extraordinary submissiveness, the masochism of Hubert Humphrey.

I admit there hasn't been enough progress. However, we are forcing Richard Nixon to withdraw the ground forces. If we hadn't had this pessimism and this easy discouragement we would have kept up much more pressure than we have. I think of such things as one in ten of the people who strongly opposed the war in Vietnam taking the occasion once a month to write a letter to the President saying he would never vote for him again if he didn't end the war immediately. The President would get something like 50,000 letters a day. Well, I believe and I don't see how you could deny it, that this would absolutely terrify Richard Nixon. This would be a flood of mail that would be terrifying to a politician with much more courage than Nixon. And yet, people just shrug their shoulders and say, "well, I wrote a letter or two once and it didn't end the war so it shows that letters don't do any good." One thing that distresses me about young people is that although they've got the idealism and they've got the courage when the pinch comes, they get discouraged at the time I would say you've got to jack up your courage more and try harder.

We've got to build a political system that will insure we don't get involved in these imperialist ventures again. We must build a society where people can get their natural gratifications without accumulation of too much anxiety or hostility.

Funeral services: the last rip-off

By Anita Waters

(Note: Ernest Morgan's "A Manual of simple Burial", mentioned below, is the source for most of the data in the following & title)

Concern is increasing in this country for the abuse and exploitation of the American people due to a single custom of their civilization; elaborate and expensive burial ceremonies. Interest in ending these practices, which take advantage of persons in a time of greatest need and grief, is well founded. The problem is a serious one.

The 1,800,000 deaths in America each year are handled by 24,000 morticians. This job, according to an official of the National Selected Morticians, could be done by about 2,000 firms. About 43 percent of the morticians handle less than one funeral a week. These morticians are forced to charge exorbitant prices to pay the overhead and other costs of their businesses, which are idle 80 percent of the time. Thus, profit makers such as metal vaults and coffins with inner-spring mattresses are invented.

Most mortuaries are geared toward this kind of elaborate service, and a family wishing a simple service is often made to feel cheap, or is pressured into an undesirable service, adding economical strain to emotional stress.

Although most cemeteries are municipally owned, some are owned by small corporations which buy the land by the acre. Their high-pressure salesmen in turn sell it in plots at enormous prices.

Labor unions, which provide welfare benefits to workers' families in the form of cash death payments, often feel they are exploited by morticians and funeral directors. Some labor leaders claim the directors uncover information about the specific cash benefits a worker's family is entitled to and charge just short of that sum. One union reported funeral charges averaging \$1200. Only 2.6 percent of the individual funerals cost under \$500.

Funeral directors and societies of morticians have acquired a good deal of legislative influence over the years, and often lobby for bills in their own interest. Their success is due to people's ignorance of the matters concerned and their reluctance to discuss the subject in depth. The state boards controlling the funeral industry are almost entirely run by funeral directors. Labor unions in one state, for example, were considering attending to their own members' needs due to the rising costs of services. A bill was passed in the state, forbidding anyone other than a funeral director to own a mortuary.

Florida morticians attempted to pass a bill making embalming compulsory under law. When this did not pass, the legislature compromised, making embalming compulsory after 24 hours. Later, the morticians helped pass another bill forbidding cremation until 48 hours after the death, thus achieving their original purpose.

Some states have laws preventing the pre-planning of funeral services, prohibiting directors from quoting prices and making contracts.

Unsuccessfully, funeral directors organizations have opposed legislature allowing a person to

donate his body to medical schools before his death. They have also opposed laws concerning itemization of their charges.

A number of societies have offered an alternative to these problems. Over one hundred memorial societies have been formed in the United States and Canada since 1939. These groups offer their members an opportunity to obtain, through pre-planning, simple and dignified services. The member specifies his wishes, and they are carried out at the time of his death by the other members, with the cooperation of the funeral director.

The societies are run by consumers as non-profit, democratic organizations. They are supported by membership fees and gifts. Membership fees average about \$10-\$20 a family, and are paid only once. Funeral arrangements are carried out to the member's specifications at the lowest possible cost. One large society reports that its members collectively save \$750,000 yearly by belonging to the memorial society. Most societies lend other services to the family of the member. The society serves the purpose of "shopping around", an emotional ordeal for a grieving family at the time of death.

Ernest Morgan, one founder of the Continental Association of Funeral and Memorial Societies, has published a concise study of the concerns of this organization. "A Manual of Simple Burial" (Columbia Press, 1971) provides information on organizing these cooperative societies, on eye banks and medical schools in need of donors, and on specific locations of memorial societies.

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